

YOUTH VIOLENCE

• Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, our nation has been riveted by the violence in Littleton, CO and Conyers, GA and our youth's easy access to guns. Communities have become increasingly concerned about their own schools and are more sensitized to the dangers of youth violence. Yet, despite this scrutiny, firearms continue to claim the lives of our young people. Every day on the average, another 14 children in America are killed with guns because of the gaping loopholes in our Federal firearms laws. We took steps to eliminate some of these loopholes during Senate consideration of the juvenile justice bill. Unfortunately, the legislation passed by the Senate did not go far enough to reduce the easy availability of lethal weapons to persons who should not have them.

Today, I saw an ABC News Wire report called "Michigan sting operation shows felons can buy guns." According to this report, two investigators in Michigan, one posing as a felon and the other as his friend, went to ten different firearms dealers to purchase guns. Remember, selling a gun to a felon is illegal but these investigators had no problems with the gun dealers they approached. Out of the 10 dealers in this investigation, nine reportedly allowed, apparently, illegal purchases. In total, 37 guns were apparently purchased illegally during this selling spree. And still, the NRA wants Congress to expand the loopholes in our firearms laws, rather than taking modest steps to close them.

Since the moment the Senate passed the Juvenile Justice bill, NRA lobbyists in Washington have been working around the clock to lobby Members of the House of Representatives. The NRA has named as its "top priority, the defeat of any Lautenberg-style gun show amendment in the U.S. House." The Lautenberg amendment, adopted by the Senate, simply requires dealers at gun shows to follow the same rules as other gun dealers, by using the existing Brady system for background checks. It accomplishes this goal without creating any new burdens for law-abiding citizens and without any additional fees imposed on gun sellers or gun buyers. But the NRA wants to create additional loopholes by creating a special category of gun show dealers, who would be exempt from even the most minimum standards. They also want to weaken the bill by establishing a 24-hour limit on the time that vendors have to complete background checks, rather than the current standard of 3 business days, the time the FBI says is necessary. It will be a sad day if the NRA can successfully lobby the House to eliminate these moderate proposals in the Juvenile Justice bill.

I hope the House will amend its current bill to include language, passed by the Senate, to limit the importation of large capacity ammunition devices, clips that domestic companies were prohibited from manufacturing in 1994.

Again, this is a moderate measure designed to keep clips with rounds as high as 250 off our streets and out of the hands of young people.

As the House begins their consideration of the juvenile justice bill next week, I hope it will strengthen, not weaken, the moderate gun control measures that we passed in the Senate. For example, Congress should take steps to prevent unintentional shootings, which occur as a result of unsafe storage of guns. These daily tragedies, resulting from the careless storage of guns, can easily be prevented by requiring the use of locking devices for guns, which are inexpensive and easy to use. We should also take steps to eliminate illegal gun trafficking and ban semiautomatic assault weapons and handguns for persons under 21 years of age.

The legislation passed in the Senate was a step in the right direction, but those moderate reforms are in jeopardy if Congress allows our legislative priorities to be dictated by the NRA.●

OUTSTANDING STUDENT—
COURTENAY BURT

• Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I rise today to acknowledge the achievements of an outstanding student from Kalispell, Montana. The Montana chapter of the American Association of University Women sponsors an annual essay contests for students in grades 11 and 12. The topic of the essays was "Women in Montana History."

Courtenay Burt, an Eleventh Grader at Bigfork High School, had her essay chosen as the best of all submitted in Montana. She writes about her grandmother, a woman of integrity and wisdom who died when Courtenay was only eight months old. Her essay tells us the story of a woman who grew up during the Great Depression, survived the often harsh climate of Montana, raised a family, earned the respect of her community, and maintained a healthy sense of humor throughout it all.

I ask that Courtenay Burt's essay "Big Mama" be printed in the RECORD.

The essay follows:

"OLD MAMA"

(By Courtenay Burt)

"Dear Courtenay, I wish you could only know how much I had looked forward to watching you grow up, but I guess that just wasn't meant to be. Not to worry, though—we'll get better acquainted later." My grandmother, who was affectionately referred to as "Old Mama," wrote those words in a shaky hand just before she passed away in 1982. I was eight months old, then, and so I have no memories of her; instead I've borrowed the memories of those who knew and loved her, as I wish I could have. Through reminiscing with those close to her, I have discovered the courageous, colorful woman my grandmother was and I have begun to paint a picture in my mind.

"Old Mama," was born Mary Katherine Emmert on February 7, 1918, in Kalispell, Montana. From an early age, it was apparent she would make her own decisions, and her strong will served her well. Using her active

imagination, young Mary reportedly kept her parents as a full gallop.

Mary's adolescent years might have been similar to any of ours, but they were marked by the hardships of the Great Depression, which began in 1929. "Old Mama" actually was one of those children who walked three miles to school in a blizzard. Like many, young Mary was eager to grow up. "You always look up to the next step and think how grown up you would feel to be there, but when you get there, you don't feel any different than you ever did. I have found this to be the way with life," she stated in a paper for her English class at Flathead County High School.

As a young woman, Mary lived the American Dream: She married Tommy Riedel, a local boy, and they eventually had two children. The couple worked side by side building a home on family farmland south of Kalispell, and the years that followed were typical for a young family of the '50's: Tommy worked while Mary raised the children. There were neighborhood events, outdoors activities, and there were always the joys of the farm life. My mother recalls horseback rides with Old Mama on those long-ago summer evenings, dusk falling hazy and pink as they loped the long fields home.

Old Mama was a constant and steady support for her children. At one time she drove all the way to Nebraska to watch my mother compete in the National track finals. "During those teen years, it was her never-failing presence more than her words that assured me of her love," my mother once wrote.

After Tommy had a sudden heart attack in his mid-forties and became disabled, Mary did not sit helplessly by. She inventoried her skills and went to work in Kalispell, becoming a legal secretary. She took great pride in her work. Years later, when it was fashionable for women to have more grandiose plans, my mother once made the mistake of remarking that she intended to be more than "just a secretary." Old Mama gathered herself to full indignation and retorted that, indeed, *Christ* had been "just a carpenter."

Eventually, hard work and commitment opened a door for Mary Riedel. When the Justice of the Peace fell ill—for whom she'd been "just a secretary"—Mary was appointed to act in his place. From all accounts, the job was perfect for her. "Old Mama," had an uncanny ability to discern people's character and it served her well, as did her dry sense of humor. On one occasion, Mary intercepted a note that a previous offender had written to a friend who was due to appear in her court.

"Watch out for Mary Redneck," the note cautioned; it went on to complain of a substantial fine and a stern lecture. As Judge Mary read the note, all eyes were riveted on her. Slowly, Mary began to smile. Then she was laughing-tear streaming, gut-wrenching laughter. She returned the note to offender with the notation: "Sorry. This seems to have gotten misdirected. Best wishes, Judge Mary Redneck."

So often, in the shadow of life's triumphs come the cruel, unexpected twists. My grandmother was diagnosed with terminal cancer only a few years after being elected Justice of the Peace. Determined to battle the disease, she struggled to survive the ravages of chemotherapy. With all of her heart she fought, until she could see that it was time to give in with grace.

On the last evening, she gathered her family together. "I told God I wanted ten more years," she said, that wry smile still working the corners of her mouth. "But when you're dealing with Him . . . you have to compromise a little." To the end, Old Mama was indomitable.

On April 14, 1982, Mary Riedel was laid to rest. Although she is not here in person, her

spirit lives on in the hearts of those who loved her; her strength, faith, and courage fire my imagination and warm my heart. Mary Riedel was a woman to be admired and remembered, and I am proud that she was my grandmother. She showed us how to live . . . and when the time came, she showed us how to die.

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PLEASANT VIEW GARDENS

● Mr. SARBANES. Mr. Chairman, recently the Washington Post contained an article recognizing an innovative and successful approach to public housing in Baltimore, MD. Pleasant View Gardens, a new housing development, holds great promise as a new approach to public housing in the Nation.

The birth of this new project began in 1994, when the City of Baltimore in cooperation with the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the State of Maryland, made funds available for the demolition of Lafayette Courts and began the process of replacing it with the new Pleasant View Gardens. As the Washington Post reported, high rise buildings in the "densest tract of poverty and crime in [Baltimore] city" have been replaced by low-rise, low density public housing where in the evenings you hear "the murmur of children playing on the jungle gym at sunset. . . police officers [chat] with residents. . . [and] the street corners [are] empty." Residents who once referred to their housing as a "cage," now allow their children to play outside.

Pleasant View offers homeownership opportunities and affordable rental housing to its residents as well as a medical clinic, a gymnasium, a job training center, an auditorium and includes a 110-bed housing complex for senior citizens. Pleasant View is part of a plan to replace more than 11,000 high-rise units in Baltimore with approximately 6,700 low-rise units to be completed by 2002, with remaining residents to be relocated throughout the city. I believe that the Pleasant View initiative offers a new path for public housing in the future and demonstrates that working with the community, the government can help to make an important difference. I ask that the full text of this article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[Washington Post, April 26, 1999.]

PLEASANT VIEW LIVES UP TO NAME—NEW PUBLIC HOUSING HAS LESS CRIME

(By Raja Mishra)

BALTIMORE.—On a recent April evening in the Pleasant View public housing development here, the ordinary was the extraordinary.

The only sound was the murmur of children playing on a jungle gym at sunset. Police officers chatted with residents on the sidewalk. Street corners were empty. Just over three years ago, Lafayette Towers stood on this spot five blocks northeast of the Inner Harbor. The half-dozen 11-story high-rise buildings were the densest tract of poverty and crime in the city.

Public planners trace the lineage of Lafayette Towers—and hundreds of high-rise buildings like them in other cities—to modernist European architects and planners of the post-World War II era. When the need for urban housing gave birth to such places, the term "projects" was viewed with favor.

Pleasant View residents who once lived in Lafayette Towers had their own term for the buildings: cages. Life in the project remains seared in their memories.

"I had to lug groceries up to the 10th floor because the elevator was always broke," said Dolores Martin, 68. "But you're afraid to go up the steps because you don't know who's lurking there."

Eva Riley, 32, spent the first 18 years of her life in Lafayette Towers.

"It gives you a feeling of despair," she recalled. "You're locked up in a cage with a fence around you and everything stinks."

In Pleasant View, the federal government's more recent theories of public housing—which stress low-rise, lower density public housing rather than concentrations of massive high-rises—have been put to the test.

The physical layout of Pleasant View is the heart of the new approach. Each family has space: large apartments, a yard and a door of their own. There are no elevators or staircases to navigate. Playgrounds and landscaping fill the space between town houses. There is a new community center.

One year into the life of the new development, the results present a striking contrast to life in the old high-rise complex: Crime has plummeted. Drugs and homicide have all but disappeared. Employment is up.

"Folks are revitalized. The old is but, the new is in. And the new is much better," said Twyla Owens, 41, who lived in Lafayette Towers for six years and moved into Pleasant View last year.

"People who live here care about how it looks and keeping it safe," said Thomas Dennis, 63, who heads a group of volunteers that patrols Pleasant View. "We all pull together. There was nothing like that at Lafayette."

"Federal housing officials say they view Pleasant View as their first large-scale success in rectifying a disastrous decision half a century ago to build high-rise public housing."

"It's an acknowledgment that what existed before was not the right answer," said Deborah Vincent, deputy assistant secretary for public housing at the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The about-face is a welcome change for longtime critics of high-rise projects.

"I don't hold any real animosity to the people who sat down in the 1940s and planned Lafayette Towers," said Baltimore City Housing commissioner Daniel P. Henson III. "But, boy, were they short-sighted."

In retrospect, it seems as if the idea of the urban apartment project was destined to lead to problems, several housing experts said.

It concentrated the poorest of the poor in small spaces set apart from the rest of the

city. The idea is thought to have originated with Le Corbusier, considered one of the giants of 20th century architecture.

Le Corbusier was grappling with the problem of crowding in big cities in France as populations swelled at the beginning of the century. Slums were rapidly expanding in urban areas. Rather than move housing outward, Le Corbusier thought it would be better to move it upward: high-rises. He conceived of them as little towns unto themselves, with commerce, recreation and limited self-government.

As hundreds of thousands of young Americans returned from World War II, eager to find transitional housing for their young families, and a mass migration began from the rural South to the urban North, Le Corbusier's thinking influenced a generation of U.S. policymakers.

In this country, cost became a central issue. The new projects were designed to house as many people as possible for as little money as possible.

"Who wanted to put poor people in lavish housing? So they used shoddy materials and were built poorly," said Marie Howland, head of the Urban Studies and Planning Department at the University of Maryland at College Park.

The tall high-rises soon became symbols of blight.

"Then the sigma of public housing increased because everyone could just point to the housing high-rises," said Sandra Neuman, interim director of the Institute for Policy Studies at Johns Hopkins University.

As the ex-servicemen departed for new suburban developments, many of the projects took on the appearance of segregated housing, particularly in cities south of the Mason-Dixon line. Baltimore housing department officials unearthed official city documents from the 1940s that refer to the planned high-rises as "Negro housing."

The most public initial concession that high-rise public housing had failed came on July 15, 1972, when the notorious Pruitt-Igoue projects of St. Louis were demolished with explosives.

High-rise projects have been crashing down across the country with increasing frequency in recent years. They have been replaced with low-rise, low-density public housing in 22 cities, including Alexandria, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Atlanta.

The \$3 billion effort there aims to replace more than 11,000 high-rise units. HUD hopes to have all the construction done by 2002. Most of the new units will be town houses. There will be a few low-rise apartments and some stand-alone homes as well. Those who do not get space in the new units will be relocated in other, existing low-rise apartments.

The facilities reflect other shifts in public housing philosophy; social needs must also be addressed and a positive environment must be created.

Twenty-seven of the 228 homes in Pleasant View are owned by their occupants. The city is trying to coax some of the renters, as well as others, to buy. The idea is to have a mixed-income population with long-term responsibilities. All residents are required to have a job or be enrolled in job training.

"Before, you had too many people with too many social problems concentrated in one area. Here you have a mix of incomes," said U-Md.'s Howland.

Pleasant View has a new medical clinic, a gymnasium, a 110-bed housing complex for senior citizens, a job training center and an auditorium, where President Clinton recently delivered a speech on homelessness.

Pleasant View also has its own police force, a small cadre of officers from the Baltimore City Housing Authority police unit.